

Message Text

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EXDIS

DEPT PLEASE PASS HARTMAN

FROM MACOMBER

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR GR CY TU

SUBJECT: "NEXT STEP" PROPOSAL

1. UNDER LEADERSHIP OF DON BERGUS AND OTHER COUNTRY TEAM MEMBERS, WE HAVE COME UP WITH A NEW "NEXT STEP" PROPOSAL WHICH I WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS WITH YOU IN LONDON AND WHICH I AM REPEATING NOW TO EMBASSIES ATHENS AND NICOSIA SO THEY CAN FORWARD TO YOU THEIR COMMENTS REGARDING IT PRIOR TO OUR DISCUSSION.

2. WHAT WE NOW ARE PROPOSING IS A VARIATION OF OUR EARLIER US EMISSARY SUGGESTION. THE PROPOSAL IS THIS: A US EMISSARY SHOULD BE APPOINTED NOT RPT NOT TO WORK ON THE CYPRUS SITUATION BUT RATHER FOR THE SPECIFIC PURPOSE OF BRINGING ABOUT A RECONCILIATION OF THE DIRECT DISPUTE BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY. CYPRUS WOULD NOT RPT NOT BE DIRECTLY IN HIS AREA OF RESPONSIBILITY BUT RATHER THROUGH SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY HE WOULD ATTEMPT TO RECONCILE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES MOST RECENTLY SET FORTH IN THE CURRENT CARAMANLIS TO DEMIREL EXCHANGE OF MESSAGES. BASICALLY
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THIS MEANS HE WOULD BE DEALING WITH AEGEAN ISSUES (I.E.,

THE CONTINENTAL SHELF, 12-MILE LIMIT, THE ARMING OF THE GREEK ISLANDS AND THE TURKISH OVERFLIGHTS THEREOF, PROVOCATIVE ACTIONS SUCH AS THE HORA SAILING, AND THE FIR DISPUTE), AS WELL AS WITH THE OVERALL CLIMATE OF HOSTILITY AND SUSPICION BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES.

3. NEITHER COUNTRY, I EXPECT, WOULD WELCOME A US EMISSARY BUT IT WOULD, I THINK, BE DIFFICULT FOR EITHER OF THEM TO REFUSE TO RECEIVE HIM, PARTICULARLY IF HE WAS AN EMINENT FIGURE. (HOWEVER, WE CANNOT RULE OUT COMPLETELY THE POSSIBILITY OF OUR BEING REBUFFED BY ONE OR BOTH OF THE CAPITALS INVOLVED.) THIS PROPOSAL HAS THE ADVANTAGE OF HAVING A US EMISSARY WORK IN AN AREA WHERE THE REAL DANGER TO OUR NATIONAL INTEREST LIES, I.E., IN A DIRECT GREEK-TURKISH CONFRONTATION. MOREOVER, IT WOULD HAVE OUR EMISSARY WORKING IN AN AREA WHERE THERE IS SOME POSSIBILITY OF SUCCESS AND, THEREFORE, AT A TIME WHEN WE SHOULD "BE DOING SOMETHING", THIS SEEMS TO US TO BE DOING THAT "SOMETHING" IN THE CORRECT AREA. ALSO, IF HANDLED PROPERLY, IT SHOULD HELP GET BOTH THE GREEK AND TURKISH SECURITY AGREEMENTS THROUGH CONGRESS (THERE IS THE DANGER OF COURSE THAT THE CONGRESS WOULD WANT TO HOLD UP ON BOTH AGREEMENTS UNTIL THEY SAW THE END RESULTS OF THE US EMISSARY'S EFFORTS. THE TURKS, HOWEVER, PROBABLY WOULD NOT DEAL WITH AN EMISSARY UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, AND I BELIEVE THE SITUATION COULD UNFOLD WITH THE EMISSARY CONVINCED--AND TELLING THE CONGRESS--THAT HE MUST HAVE BOTH AGREEMENTS PROGRESSING THROUGH THE CONGRESS IF HE IS TO BE EFFECTIVE).

4. THE FOREGOING PROPOSAL IS BASED ON OUR GROWING CONVICTION HERE THAT WE ARE NOT GOING TO BE ABLE TO GET REAL, OR EVEN PERHAPS OPTICAL, PROGRESS IN CYPRUS UNDER THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES. FOR ONE THING, WE SHARE THE GOT'S DEEP CONVICTION THAT MAKARIOS IS LIKELY IN THE END TO WISH TO, AND TO BE ABLE TO, BLOCK A RESOLUTION OF THE SITUATION THERE, THAT IS A RESOLUTION ALONG THE LINES THAT WE HAVE ALL BEEN CURRENTLY WORKING TOWARD. IN ADDITION, IT DOES NOT SEEM LOGICAL TO US THAT EITHER THE GREEK-CYPRIOTS OR THE MAINLAND GREEKS WILL IN THE END CONSIDER THE RELATIVELY FEW PERCENTAGE POINTS OF REGAINED TERRITORY ON THE ISLAND (WHICH IS

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AS MUCH AS THEY CAN PROBABLY EXPECT FROM EVEN A "FLEXIBLE" TURKISH GOVERNMENT) AS ATTRACTIVE AS THE ALTERNATIVE OF LEAVING THE SITUATION UNRESOLVED AND CONTINUING TO MAKE SERIOUS TROUBLE FOR THE TURKS IN THE CONGRESS AND ELSEWHERE. AND EVEN IF THERE IS A LOGICAL CONVICTION ON THE PART OF THE GREEK OFFICIALS THAT A CYPRUS SOLUTION OF THE KIND WE HAVE BEEN ENVISIONING MAKES SENSE THERE STILL WILL BE THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL DETERRENT OF GREEK OFFICIALS NOT WANTING THEIR NAME

SIGNED TO A FINAL SOLUTION WHICH, NO MATTER HOW LOGICALLY SOUND, REPRESENTS SIGNIFICANT POST-JULY 1974 TERRITORIAL CONCESSIONS TO THE TURKS. THEN ONE ADDS TO THESE NEGATIVES THE INSTINCTIVE INFLEXIBILITY OF THE TURKS--AND PERHAPS THEIR DOMESTIC INABILITY TO MAKE ANY CONCESSIONS OF CONSEQUENCE ON CYPRUS--IT SEEMS TO ME THAT WE MUCH NOW FACE UP TO THE FACT THAT AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS IN THE NEAR FUTURE ARE NOT RPT NOT GOING TO PRODUCE AN ACCEPTABLE CYPRUS "SOLUTION".

5. IT SEEMS TO ME, HOWEVER, THAT THE MORE DANGEROUS AND DIRECT GREEK-TURKISH CONFRONTATION IS SUSCEPTIBLE TO SOLUTION AND IT IS HERE, THEREFORE, THAT WE SHOULD CONCENTRATE OUR PRIMARY EFFORTS FROM NOW ON. MOREOVER, MAKING PROGRESS HERE IS IN THE LONG RUN PROBABLY THE BEST WAY TO EVENTUALLY ACHIEVE SOME REAL PROGRESS IN THE CYPRUS SITUATION.

6. IF THE DEPARTMENT CONCURS IN THIS PROPOSAL, WE STRONGLY URGE THAT THE AMERICAN EMISSARY BE A PRESTIGIOUS DEMOCRAT. WE HAVE IN MIND A FIGURE SUCH AS GEORGE BALL, CY VANCE, J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, OR DAVID BRUCE.
MACOMBER

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